وتهدف ورقة البحث المقدمه لمناقشة الروايتين من هذا المنظور عن طرق الربط بين خيال الكتاب في الروايتين، والسجل التاريخي للحدث من علي أرض الواقع ، محللة الكثير من اللوحات والشعارات التي تغيرت كثيرا طوال الثمانية عشرة يوم لتواجه المواقف والأسئله والمخاوف ، ولتبث روحا من النشاط والحيويه والأمل في حياة جديدة بعد أن إختزل الثوار مطالبهم في ثلاث كلمات: عيش، حريه، عداله إجتماعيه .



جمهورية التحرير المستقلة:
ثورة المهمشين!

د/ فاطمة طاهر (*)

إن ما حدث في ميدان التحرير في ثمانية عشر يوم هي عمر ثورة يناير 2012 و ما مر به الشعب المصري من توقعات، وآمال، وإنتظار للحرية والكرامه و ما صاحب ذلك كله من تفاعلات و ضغوط وإرهاب في بعض الأحيان، ما هو إلا ترجمه لحلم قد راود الناس لسنوات عديده لقد **أثرت تلك الثوره المجال الأدبى بالعديد من الكتابات التي شرحت وحللت وشجعت وإنتقدت وتوقعت وصورت المستقبل لتصبح الشغل الشاغل لمعظم الكتاب والمحللين السياسين والإجتماعيين وفي جميع المجالات ولتساعد علي تحويل " أجزاء كبيره من أدبنا إلي أدب غير قابل للقراءة"، كما يؤكد أحمد زغلول الشيطي.**

من بين تلك الأعمال تظهر روايتي أجنحة الفراشه للكاتب محمد سلماوي وشمس تشرق مرتين للكاتبه زينب عفيفي، لتتناولا الثوره ببعد جديد: فالثوره هنا ليست فقط خروج الجموع المهمشه والمقهوره لإسترداد كرامتها وحقوقها المنهوبه، إنما هي ثوره النفس علي كل ما يعيق تحققها وتطورها وإنطلاقها إلي أفق بلا حدود!

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reaches its well deserved civil, democratic government, and till its people find their dignity at home and abroad.

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human- set rules and establish a religious state in opposition to all liberal, secular visions with all their multiplicity.

The revolution will continue for some time till all democratic values are powerfully established. Otherwise all the democratic procedures would become absurd and superficial and might lead to an uncontrollably chaotic state.This revolution seems greater than any limiting forces, it exceeds the limits of ousting a ruler or a system, to a greater aim of an elegant expression of the self and the will to take the lead and regain control over the long lost country. It was a revolution on corruption led by middle class youth who demanded the construction of a new democratic society that mainly depends on elections; their only chance was there- at Tahrir square, and then January 25. They decided to fulfill a long deferred dream of a civil country where all citizens stand at equal distance from law, and where Egypt would again make an example of a civil country for the whole region. They wanted new leaders, new perspectives, new visions and better actions. Change was an action in itself, as Almanawy (2011) sees it; an action that facilitates stability in any society.

It is actually inspirational to see the valor of Egyptians as they rebel to end the autocratic rule that lasted for three decades. It is especially inspiring to remember that what is happening is the culmination of years of work by activists from a range of pro-democracy movements, human rights groups, labor unions, and civil society organizations. It is very important as well to remember those who paid their lives and their blood for 'a room of one's own' and to remember that the revolution has not finished yet, it is a continuous spirit that will never calm down or rest till Egypt

citizens in the streets exposing themselves to humiliation by the central security forces, the movement and protests of University students against all measures of repression. The main issue was that all Egyptians, of all classes, backgrounds or tendencies were longing for Justice, Freedom, and a dignified life.

The novels reflect the wide spread social unrest through the years 2005-2010. While the first highlights the fact that change is inevitable and expresses the Egyptian need for democracy and democratic change as well as for justice and dignity, the second is a documentation of the great event. The Egyptians were looking forward for democracy and that meant equality, justice and freedom of all types (expression, choice, and everything else) which are basic human rights that every human being deserves: Demands to which the regime seemed deaf and indifferent.

In his book *January 25 Revolution Between Democratic Change and Inclusive Revolution,* AL-Sayed Yassin coins the term *al-thawra alkawnya* "universal revolution" to refer to the three waves of revolution of: politics, morality and knowledge. If the first calls for democracy, multiplicity and human rights, the second calls for a hierarchy of values, change of ethics, and the third involves moving from the modern to the post modern phase, then we can safely say that the 25 revolution in Egypt is an all inclusive revolution. The real problem now is Egypt is the multiplicity of vision. It's not about the regime and the opposition alone, it is the existence of two contradictory and conflicting visions: the Fundamentalist, Extremist view that aspires to obliterate all traces of a secular state and all

III. Conclusion:

The two novels at hand, recent as they are, sum up all the miseries and the sufferings of the Egyptians. What Salmawi and Afifi discuss in their works is a realistic portrayal of what many social and political analysts have warned against all through the past decades: oppression. In many of his articles in 2010 Al-Aswani has discussed the reasons that might lead the people to explode. From The National Democratic Party –the governing party at that time- which was promoting for the idea of presidency succession and installing Gamal Mubarak in his father's position, to poverty, the dramatic level of unemployment, burning trains, sinking ferry, the deterioration in the education and health policies, as well as the corrupt oppressive system. Despite all the protests between 2000-2010 (more than 2000 protests and revolts) and which were a natural result of the catastrophic state of affairs in Egypt, the National Democratic Party still claimed that these protests do not really reflect the true desire for radical change.

This state of denial did not help political life in Egypt. And though the idea of Presidency Succession was hailed internationally, since it would guarantee the continuity of the same strategies in the Middle East- Egypt- Israeli relations in particular, as Al-Aswani maintains, Egyptians never accepted this idea on the principle that Egypt can never, will never, be a Monarchical Republic. The National Democratic Party and the government should have grasped the signs of change that overcame the Egyptians in the last few years before January 25, such as the Kefaya movement, the movement the University Professors and respected

never die with their beholders, they stay alive to inspire others. A Revolution, as Alaa Al-Aswani maintains, "is not a slogan or a prior objective but a stage a society goes through at a certain moment, when everything else becomes liable to ignite" (on the state of Egypt 5) Hence Shams's internal and external revolution.

Her long ignored dream of fulfillment, liberation and rebirth is easily realized the minute she walks in the square and dissolves with the people. She melts with the crowd and what prevails at that moment is her patriotism; "a feeling topped with dust" for so many long years! She is suddenly overwhelmed by an inner revolution that topples all her fears "I want to liberate myself ... I want to find Salah" (95). The revolution gives meaning to her life as much as it gave meaning to Egypt. It's only at the moment when she melts with the crowd that she feels young, and hopeful. The revolution has given meaning to her life and existence: "I felt young, started running everywhere, curing an injured, supporting an elderly, or even protecting a martyr's mother with my own bare body from a gas bomb...I participated like all young girls in writing signs, drawing or reciting poems ...I wrote words that carried the hopes of all Egyptians asking the autocratic regime to 'leave'" (96). The liberation of a long oppressed nation, coincided with her own self liberation: "after meeting Salah, I felt different ... I felt like someone who returned to her homeland after years of separation and alienation ...Egypt is transforming ... and so am I!!!" (99)

Opposite to the end of *The Butterfly Wings*, Shams does not really unite with Salah, they are separated by death. However, the death of her inspirational figure did not stop Shams's hope for a better life. The hope that flamed her life and that gave meaning to her existence continues to inspire her in different ways; "bravery has different expressions other than dying at Tahrir Square, or in revolutions in general ... it can be in a portrait, poem, or any other motivating creative work" (112), revolutions and dreams

throughout the novel and represented through minor characters to foretell the outburst of a whole nation.

The state of submission and the long inherited myth that we live our destinies have always challenged the protagonist, Shams (literally translated as 'Sun'), to think of her own life and her status. Like Egypt, Shams has sold herself in marriage, seeking stability and 'good life'; "yes, Mahmoud bought me, and I willingly agreed ... no one forced me. I willfully chose to ignore my dreams, for the happiness of my little family, and consequently no one really cares about me! They all seek my presence when they need me ... Alone I live, dream and suffer my loneliness and empty life" (SRT, 66-68). It is at the peak of her frustration and loss that the revolution breaks. Millions march up in a quest for freedom, dignity and social equality. "The people want change!" a slogan that has long burned her chest and an urge that has long threatened her systematic life. Fear that has long governed and controlled her life did not last long. After a long moment of meditation she reaches the resolution: "I looked at my life, and I examined the whole situation ... I thought of my personal problems and they all seemed insignificant compared to the scene at Tahrir Square. ... I wondered how trivial my loneliness was, and was sure it would dissolve in the crowd among the people" (91). It is only at Tahrir that she discovers other people's sufferings and frustrations; "there must be a great something inside each and every one of those rebels ... might not be loneliness ... but there is definitely something ... it certainly has dissolved and disappeared when they all united at Tahrir ... they are all now united for a greater goal ... Freedom" (92).

political forces and new parties form and take charge of the affairs in Egypt for a three-month transitional period after which elections are supposed to take place where the People's Assembly would represent all parties in Egypt. On the other hand, Doha's dilemma in the bigger prison of the patriarchal society ends with her divorce and she melts with the people and at the hands of her inspirational figure Ashraf Al-Zainy. Similar to all the minor characters in the novel who start a new life on the personal and public levels, Salmawi's Egypt starts a new era of freedom and fulfillment.

In Afifi's novel *A Sun that Rises Twice* love and the revolution are mixed and inseparable. The symbolic title and name of the protagonist are typical of the change that took place both within and without. Afifi discusses unspoken human feelings, described as 'feelings topped with dust' where the two dramatic lines of the plot; the personal emotions, and the collective demand intersect to give depth and meaning to the human experience as much as they give meaning and reason for existence. The frustrated protagonist and her recently found, long lost love resemble that of a whole nation that has dwelt in a long coma, unable to revive itself, waiting for a rebirth.

The novel tackles common problems of the frustrated youth who are never self fulfilled in their jobs –if employed- or who have to bury their talents and creativity in return for a poor salary with which they maintain their basic needs. Salah, the artist, had to take a desk job and forget all about his dream of self expression in a country that has no place for the talented, a country that eats its people. Issues like poverty, unemployment, underage marriages, child labor and many other social and political issues are discussed

against the regime and the policies of the government. It is only when she melts with the people and only when she discovers the power of the people that she realizes her own vigor. She, among others, could cause the great turmoil and affect the change hence her consistent shout "we will fear no more, low voice is what we abhor". The more she fuses with the people, the more self reliant and self confident she becomes, and the more the hope for a real fulfilled life shines before her eyes.

Although the plot in *The Butterfly Wings* ends with the civil disobedience where everyone rebels against unjust measures and unfair practices of the regime and its government, contrary to what happened in January 25 revolution, reality and fiction meet at many other points of the events; the revolution depends mainly on the power of the long suppressed people and a number of youth digitally equipped to use the internet and the text messages. Media broadcast and social networks play a crucial role as well. The rebels videotaped all the violations and broadcast them to show the whole world what the regime has been hiding and denying for decades. The aging regime still reacted in the same abhorred, old fashioned manner of referring the whole situation to foreign agendas and external conspiracies.

The conclusion which Salmawi advocates comes as a more peaceful and more idealistic than the ugly truth imposed on the Egyptians after January 25. In his conclusion, the government resigns, the army refuses to interfere and the police force raises high above all political differences and puts itself at the service of the people. New

the minute she met Ashraf AL-Zainy; a social and political activist. Who opposite to her husband, challenges the artist and the designer in her and suggests exits for the trapped soul. His demand for "more Egyptian" patterns in her designs urges the search for what might really resemble her. In the "Tiger Butterfly" she finds her loss and finds a resort. Her simple statement; "I feel this Egyptian butterfly will change my life" (74) foreshadows the upcoming internal and external change. The shell in which she has long embargoed herself sine her marriage to El-Safty, the governing party distinguee, breaks with the simple touch of a butterfly. She then develops into a real woman and a butterfly and starts to soar high above her small world. The 'Black Hole' in Doha's soul despite her apparent satisfaction with her life, resembles that of all Egyptians whose lives seem to be going on from birth to death aimlessly and engulfed in darkness! Their inability to soar like the ancient Egyptian Tiger Butterfly created an irrevocable sense of sadness and depression that accumulated over the years.

It is not by chance that the decision Doha takes of turning her life upside down and freeing herself of all restricting forces coincides with the revolution in Egypt. The only way to free a country was to free its people! Doha, who has long abhorred her life in the patriarchal society that restricts her potentials with sterile traditions and that forbids her freedom of getting a divorce, resembles Egypt that has been usurped and raped for long years. The revolutionary decision she makes of stopping that absurd, subjugating life mirrors the Egyptians' decision to oust the dictator. Her impatience and decisiveness tell of the long oppression she has suffered. This impatience shapes up when she participates, for the first time in her life, in a demonstration

great masses of a people long suppressed, humiliated and oppressed. This mass uses its collective power and huge numbers to alter the current status quo. Led by youth who are 'digitally 'equipped enough to change the virtual into a rebellion against the authority that has long marginalized them and ignored their demands. In a spontaneously traditional reaction, and in a state of disbelief, and disbelieve that the Egyptian youth would ever think of moving, the government directly accuses the opposition and arrests its leaders in an uncalculated action that greatly affects the situation in the streets and enrages the already fed up mass since it lays extra emphasis on the stubbornness of a regime unable to accept change or to listen to the voice of the street man. As all the sects of the society join the radical youth in the streets, the situation gets worse in the events of the novel and the army is deployed. Consequently, the police loses control over the situation and the expected end takes place. The novel gives voice and space to the systematically ignored youth. The accuracy of the events in the novel and its almost identical details with the January 25 Revolution highlight the regime's blindness to the quite obvious rage predicted by the author.

The reference to Edward Lorenz theory of 'the butterfly effect' relates the story to the many uprisings that took place in Egypt between the years 2000-2010, and illustrates on how such demonstrations lead, one way or another, to the great upheaval of January 25, 2011. The change initiated by a few small non-governmental organizations resembles the effect of the butterfly flapping its wings on one side of the universe to cause turmoil on the other side. The climax for Doha's internal revolution was

Salamony's poem "Dam Elshwaree'" "Blood of the Streets", along with Samir Al-Amir, Abdul Raheem Youssef, Abdul, Rahman Youssef's poems that preceded and followed the revolution.

The present paper focuses on two novels that play on the same tune and tackle the same theme; the revolution on the tyrannical regime and all its representations; the patriarchal society, the unfair circumstances, authority and all other shapes of tyranny, as much as on the self. They protagonists in both novels rebel to free the self and the country of all the long suffered suppression and of all the forces, accentuating the individual's supremacy and right for a better life. The novels at hand: Salmawi's *Agneh'at AlFarasha* or *The Butterfly Wings*, and Afifi's *Shams Toshrek Maratayn* or *A Sun that Rises Twice*, detail the internal and external revolution. While the first is published 2011, a few days before the revolution, is read as a record of the rage that foreshadows the revolution, the second can be read as a documentary of the eighteen days inspiring revolution and its impact on the self.

Many social analysts and writers have long portrayed the Egyptian people, including its youth as passive, ignorant, or dormant people who would only think of moving if sphinx moves, or as *The New Yorker Books Bench* puts it " 'innately' docile" to revolt against the police state and the tyrannical system. Salmawi had a different perspective; he presents the Egyptians as special and exceptional who might be patient for long, but when they act, nothing stops them. The novel presents and foreshadows a change that takes place through non-traditional means. A power that is neither party oriented, armed, nor supported by the army. It is the power of the

well as irrigates the desert soil that our reality has become by reforming the existing thinking pattern and social norms prevalent in our society. Egyptian literature has paid extensive, excessive attention to the Egyptian rage, frustration, oppression and longing for a better life that escalated into the January 25, 2011 revolution. Over the past few decades it has consistently mediated to readers around the world issues like women's subjugation, systemized torture at the hands of the state's police, people's social and political hardships, and the rising corruption that made an uprising inevitable. Many works published and confiscated, have portrayed this rage and frustration years before 2011. Among these stands Ibrahim Abdel Fattah's poem "A'zzaeem" published in Ad-dostour news paper before the presidential elections of 2005, as the most well known, shared, recited, and quoted one. Along with other poems like "erh'al ..Leave' or "sebna w 3'our', many short stories, novels and news paper articles, highlight the great oppression that caused the people's outburst and to which the regime gave the least attention! Literary critics like Dina Heshmat also argue that it had a revolutionary effect locally, acting as a potential Tahrir Square. Among the most important literary voices in this category is novelist Sonallah Ibrahim, whose works (Dhat) *Self,* and (Sharaf) *Honor*, document the brutality of the police state and the slowly rising revolutionary impulses. The eighteen days revolution and the too many details and events have equally inspired many works like Hesham Elkheshen's "7 Days in Tahrir," published in 2011, and conveys clearer revolutionary omens poets like Hamdy AL-Gazzar who documented the events chronologically in "Kessas fi Hagm Al-Kafayn" "Stories of a Palm Size", or Soad Al-

who suffered frequent loss of reliance, especially with every speech delivered by Mubarak.

Another very well written, acted and directed sketch is that of Osta Zalata Do'beish. Though it comes on the tongue of the seemingly mentally retarded character, Osta Zalata who blindly supports the decaying regime, the act stands as one of the most telling, symbolic and highly sarcastic acts of the period. Osta Zalata, the illiterate man, with a twitching right eye and impediment in speech, reflects the brain-washing process and immoral practices of the regime on its youth over the past thirty years that lead to their inability to reason matters or see into events. Ironically enough this blind dedication to the old regime, and the opposition to the pro-democratic waves of change, lack of education, and many other reason, were the main reasons why the revolution took place. Humor here is not only based on the way he talks, walks or looks, but on the reasons why he defends the old regime, and the illogicality behind the justification. The excellent choice of these characteristics highlights fundamental problems such as illiteracy, corruption and unemployment.

iii. Literature and Innovation

In his 1970 Nobel lecture, Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn described art and literature as "the only substitute for what we ourselves have not experienced...They have the marvelous capacity of transmitting from one nation to another... practical experience, the harsh national experience of many decades never tasted by the other nation." (qtd. in Mona El-Namoury) Literature as a form of creativity remains the mirror of this human experience. On another level it does not only describe reality, it adds, enriches and glorifies it as

ii. Comic sketches:

With the same creative manner that characterized the systematic slogans during the 18 days revolution, sketches and recorded videos also helped with the same intensity. One of the most effective comic sketches was that of Mr. Nana man. Two amateur actors/protestors; created the character introduced to the crowd as an Indian expert who came to advise the people at Tahrir Square and to offer them free consultation on how to deal with their oppressive regime, and many solutions for their problems. The scenario goes that his own solutions are based on a previous experience back home, apparently not very much different from that of the Egyptians, even in names of tyrants, corrupt figures and nature of problems.

The name of the character is symbolic of and relates to the way he speaks; where he uses the three syllables na, ni and nu all through. And since his conversation is incomprehensible, he had to have an interpreter, the second actor, who clarifies the case and advises the people to stay and stick to their demands.

The sketch highlights the Egyptians high sense of humor, and is situational, the crowd becomes very interactive and starts to do the interpretation themselves and relate the act to their own misery, translate the names and understand the implied message. The target of the act was multiple: it needed to deliver the message that tyrannical, autocratic regimes were everywhere in the world; that people needed to resist those regimes through times, as much as to raise the spirit of the crowd and the protestors

or one would take the consequences of everlasting humiliation. (38) Thus, the oppressive measures which were supposed to frighten the people, made them more adamant in their request for change and would never be satisfied with anything less than ousting the tyrant. A series of 'Leave' slogans, previously mentioned, continued vehemently and never stopped till February 11, 2011. So: "mesh hanemshy .. howa yemshy" "we won't leave .. he must leave" or "er'hal ya3ni emshy... yemken ma byefhamshy", "Leave means go ... in case he doesn't know" with reference to the government's statement that they should leave the square and return to their homes, and that the message is well delivered and that he will react and make fundamental changes and corrections".

In her article in BRISMES annual conference, Mariam Aboelezz of Lancaster University refers to the use of slogans with reference to the intertextuality, hidden and explicit, of the mottos used. In this context she refers to the use of car plates, with the word 'leave' in Arabic, and the digital numbers of 25 January, or the expiration bar code, a warning sign on a cigarette pack, and other several messages with technological themes; facebook friend request from Mubarak denied by the Egyptians. Many other forms of intertextuality can be depicted in the square; signs of technological reference where the Egyptians are trying to install freedom from Tunisia folder, yet they can't complete installation because the file 'Mubarak' must be removed. Other signs that have historical connotations like Mubarak's picture merged with Hitler's or Tutankhamen's image or style. This together with other innovative examples provided a body of witty messages to the regime as well as the whole world that Egypt has moved and will not settle till it achieves its goal of a proper civil state.

Habib, Hit hard ... We'll never fear or run" or, "ya dakhlya, ya h'arbya, hatou edykom waya edaya", "Oh policemen and army men ... let's hold our hands together". Yet, unity with the forces was never achieved, and many people were killed, so the rebels stared to condemn the police forces: "shortet Masr, ya shortet Masr ... entou ba2etou kelab ela'sr" "Oh Egyptian police ... you turned into the President's hunting dogs". And with the interference of the Egyptian Armed Forces: "la'a, la'a, la'a ya geesh khaleek bara w ew'aa teteesh ... Hosni Mubarak mesh hay3eesh", "No, Our Army, stay out of that ... we'll remain and Mubarak will die", Which soon changed into "elgeesh wel shaab eyd wah'da" "The people and their army is one hand", when the armed forces announced that it will take the people's side and will never harm any Egyptian.

After January 28, with the withdrawal of the Central Security Forces (CSF) and the intended chaos and disorder created by expelling the prisoners to spread fear and force the protestors to return to protect their own homes, as well as with the mass burning of police stations and major public buildings, the youth decided to protect the Egyptian museum and the Alexandria Library in a manner that stunned the whole world and the slogans shifted to be more patriotic: "Masr baladna mesh tekeyia ... lel naheeba w el h'armya" "Egypt, Our country, is not a fair game for thieves and scoundrels", or "Masr hatefdal ghalya 3alyia ... raghm elzolm w elh'aramya" "Egypt will always remain dear to me ... despite the unfair treatment and the thieves".

Al-Sheity maintains that it was a stand that could never be repeated, so, it was either to be totally completed

These 'erhal' notes were justified with parallel slogans that referred to Egypt's foreign policy to express the people's dissatisfaction with the naturalized relations with Israel which most of the Egyptians consider their first enemy : "er'hal ...er'hal ya 3ameel ... b3t bladak l'israel", "Leave ... Leave ... Leave traitor, you sold your country to Israel" in an explicit reference to the 'natural gas' deal, and all the economic and commercial agreements with Tel Aviv.

With the passing of hours, the ceiling of demands raised. The oppressed rebels who finally found their voice decided to raise it a bit higher to be loud enough for the world to hear in shouts like: "3ally w 3ally w 3ally elsout ... elly hayhtef mesh haymoot" "Raise your voice, raise it high ... those who shout will not die" ; "3ally elsout, 3ally kman ... la'gl mayesma3 kol gaban" "Raise your voice, raise it again ... let every coward hear it clear", or even "erfa3 erfa3 elhetaf ... sha3bena h'or w mesh hayhkaf" "Chant, oh chant out loud ... we are no more afraid"; statements that break the silence and encourage the people to defend their rights and claim freedom. The people have found their vigor and their voice. They will not be silenced anymore.

As expected, the tyrannical system, did not give up easily. It resorted to the same method of using iron and fire to repress the angry protestors. With the fall of dead casualties among the protestors who stressed the peaceful nature of the protest the slogans shifted into two directions: some against Habib Al-'Adly, the Minister of Interiors, and others to invite the Egyptian forces to join the revolution instead of backing the regime. They felt betrayed: "edrab, edrab ya Habib ... mahma hatedrab mesh hanseeb" "Hit

Protestors became aware that the power is in the hands of the people, so they worked hard to charge the people to maintain this power through slogans like "thawra, thawra ya masryeen lagl ma nekhlas m'l khayneen" "revolution oh Egyptians, let's get rid of the traitors" Or, "thawra ... thawra fi kol makan dhed elkhawana wel andal" "Revolution everywhere against the traitors and the scoundrels" Or "thawra ... tharwa h'ata alnasr... tharwa fi kol shawar'e masr", "Revolution till victory ...Revolution in all the streets of Egypt". Obviously these slogans were tremendously effective. They awakened the Egyptians' long dead dream and created a spirit and a well for change. So, with the unprecedented gathering of the people in the streets, protestors knew that it was then or never; they knew that this huge crowd who went into the streets would never be willing to give up their lives simply for a number of superficial changes or reform measures that the regime offered. They, therefore, decided to state it clearly in "alsh'aab Youreed ...", "the people demand ..." slogan followed by countless, endless 'erh'al' notes: "er'hal ... er'hal... er'hal gh'our... kh'aly baladna tshouf el nour"", "Leave ... leave... leave for good... let our country see sun light" connoting to the backwardness and deterioration in all aspect of life in Egypt that made it dwell in darkness. Or a variation on the same tune to deliver the same message: "ya Mubarak ya gebela ... etla3, etla3, etla3 barra" "Oh thick skinned Mubarak, get out of our country, or "elta3'yeer, elta3'yeer ... er'hal er'hal ya h'akeer" "Change is what we demand, leave you mean Mubarak!"

Dignity". A slogan that highlights the miserable economic policies under which the country was staggering and which led to inflation, widened social gaps and demolished the middle class. The simple request for 'bread' emphasized the corrupt policies which only helped the rich get richer while dragging the poor into poorer conditions. The slogan also highlights the fact that it was a police state where the simple request for one's rights would lead to humiliation, torture, loss of human dignity and death in some cases. In this respect, Khalid Said's image and case was adopted as a symbolic icon of the revolution to represent all those who died of torture, and all those who suffered injustice and humiliation at the hands of the police men and in police stations. That's why the large mass of youth who made use of technology, globalization and social networks, were easily joined by hundreds of thousands of street children, beggars, poor people, unemployed and homeless people.

With the increase in the number of protestors in Tahrir square and all the major squares in Egypt, along with the old regime's reluctance to join the forces of change, Protestors adopted another slogan; "ya ahleena endamou leena ... hatou edeekoum waya edeena" "Oh our people, join us, let's hold our hands together" in an explicit invitation by the youth who seemed to lose faith in the old generations' ability to cause change, they asked for a better support, as much as it shows a desperate try to bridge the already existing, dramatically widening gap, between generations. Protestors, who were mostly of the younger generation tried for the last time to convince the frustrated, indifferent old who felt paralyzed, and who lost all hope of living long enough to witness any change, they tried to convince them of their power and ability to cause change.

Innovation and creativity in Tahrir square proved that the Egyptians could still laugh at/in the worst conditions. They chose to attract the world's attention not only through tense uprising and stressful events, but through comic slogans, sketches and acts accompanied with translations in English. These were very effective powerful tools that expressed the deep desires for change and delivered the message that there was no return to the decaying decades of oppression. They, as usual, could derive laughter out of the most depressing socio-political events. Creativity was not limited to only one course or one shape, it came in different forms; starting from setting a specific date for the event, to the extraordinary self expression through the signs and slogans, the sketches and caricatures, and finally but not least, the endless body of literature that either foreshadowed or documented the revolution.

i. Slogans:

In what seemed a dialogue between the protestors and the regime, the revolution which, for the first time in history had a pre-scheduled date, stressed all the way long its being "Peaceful" or 'selmyaa' to avoid bloodshed especially under an oppressive regime that has ruled the people for long years, with an iron fist. The opposition and the protestors decided to implement the "peaceful peaceful" motto from the very beginning, all through till the end although many doubted that any effective change would take place through peaceful means.

Parallel to emphasizing the nature of the demonstrations, protestors stated their demands clearly from the very beginning: "Bread, Freedom, Social Justice and

II. Revolutions and Creativity:

Human creativity and talent remain the core value and the escapade of all humanity. Literature as a form of creativity remains the mirror of this human experience. On another level it does not only describe reality- like *A Sun that Rises Twice* discussed in this paper- it adds, enriches and glorifies it. Salmawi's novel *The Butterfly Wings,* irrigates the desert soil that our reality has become by reforming the existing thinking pattern and social norms prevalent in our society. It changes the common perspective that "Egyptians are innately docile"

The creative notifications of the January 25th revolution provide the guiding principles for people's lives as much as it reflects their sufferings and aspirations. They are timeless, and will be recalled every time the revolution is mentioned. It is through reading these creative forms and notifications that the reasons behind, and the reasons for which the revolution erupted will be understood. In this sense, the images, sketches and slogans go beyond being creative; they are inspiring. We can safely claim that many of them have gained iconic and historical value and status. Each of them exposes, analyzes and foretells stories of oppression, hopes and aspirations. They stand for creative resistance.

Creativity; the act of making something out of nothing, requires great imagination. Same as revolution it involves risk taking and adventure. Rebels and creative people have more output to each and every input than normal people. They have more ideas to choose from. Both creativity and revolution require courage and willingness to die for one's convections over and over again.

majority party till January 2011. In the process of marginalizing all the political parties in Egypt, the regime has also been marginalizing the huge masses of youth that have grown up in the global village and were technically professionals in handling technology and the internet, communicating, grouping and forming their own parities through social networks like Facebook and Twitter. A small spark of hope flashed on January 25, 2011 when this great crowd of youth exploded asking for freedom, dignity and social justice. Those youth had the ability to imagine another world and start taking effective measures to make it come into reality. In the freedom of the internet they were able to practice democracy and self expression and to criticize the status quo and everyone responsible for it. Unlike other protestors throughout history, the January 25 youth have previously set out the date and location of their protests. They were later joined by tens of thousands of people of all classes and affiliations. The protests soon turned into a sit-in, and the number of the people sure frightened the regime, and the more it panicked, the harder and more violent the reaction was on the people's part. Technology proved more efficient for them once more and they started to broadcast images, videos and tweets that helped increase the number of people till it reached an unprecedented level. Eventually, the regime which continued to deny the revolution for many days could not stand long in the face of the people though it tried several remedies such as changing the government, appointing a vice president and a new prime minister, vowing constitutional reform, and fundamental reforms in the ruling party. Finally, they pushed Mubarak to step down and hand the authority to the Council of Armed Forces (SCAF).

the People's Assembly elections guaranteed diplomatic immunity and social protection, therefore all the corrupt candidates who were eager for power and status joined the National Party to guarantee success in the parliamentary elections.

Internationally, the historical change occasioned by the collapse of the Soviet Union has directly resulted in the end of the duel power system and the hegemony of the USA. This in turn caused direct interference in the social, political and cultural affairs of all countries trying to force democracy through non-governmental human rights organizations (NGOs), which made the best use of the American financial aids to spread democracy (Yassin, 2011, 212)

In his book, *The Rights of the Arabs and the Philosophy of Change*, Taha Abdul Rahman maintains that if the concept of "mono ideology" urges the spread of one culture, then "fait accompli" works as a major force of political control over the world. Abdul-Rahman justifiably considers 'political control more malevolent and destructive than cultural control' (146) since it forces people to accept their reality rather than discuss it or try to change it. The American hegemony wants to force the American right to rule the world. Nevertheless, either case is evil especially for countries like Egypt, which witnessed great ideological changes in the past seventy years, since the 1952 revolution. On the other hand, Yassin believes that ever since the 1952 revolution, variation in the political and social ideology disappeared gradually (2011) and the political parties were limited then canceled, and the new political ideology started to serve the goals of the revolution, it then changed into socialism and later to the mono-logical policy of the National Party which, according to official results, was the

Tahrir square were not all social activists or Facebook users, many of them did not even hear of Facebook or any social networks. They were the common people who suffered the direct effect of oppression, injustice, and suppression. It was a revolution of the long humiliated people against oppression, a revolution to regain the long departed dream of recognition, significance and dignity. This people refused to stay at the mercy of a tyrant, daring enough to change the constitution to guarantee a smooth transmission of authority to his son. They decided to walk in the sun and regain control over their destiny in the streets. The bloody confrontations with the suppressing regime in what seemed to be street fights accentuated the people's insistence to fight humiliation and impoverishment.

Though frustration, poverty, suppression, inefficient health system, poor education, lack of a security system that serves the people rather than the regime, were sufficient issues that pushed too hard on the people, it was the 2010 parliament elections and the change in the constitution to help groom Gamal Mubarak to authority that marked the last straw. Besides, the people have always hoped that one day there will be a proper parliament that represents the majority of the people and that excludes extremists, and includes all sectors of the nation. They wanted a parliament that includes a strong ruling party that represent the civil forces, as well as a strong opposition that reflects the state of matters in the streets. They wanted a parliament able to handle the prevailing corruption. The 2010 elections gave them fabricated, forged elections that excluded the opposition and served the Mubarak National Party whose members have made fortune from public money. Success in

It would be ultimately mistaken to believe that the January 25 Revolution erupted all of a sudden. The way has been paved for this revolution at least though the past ten years, more or less. Many revolutionary oppositionists have sacrificed their personal safety and even their lives in the face of the tyrannical, autocratic regime and its suppressing apparatus. Most of the tyrants and dictators live in perpetual self-delusion that they are doing their utmost for the welfare of their countries. An inevitable consequence of what is described in international literature as 'dictator's solitude'; where they are separated from the street men and the public, or real life in general. They live in a different and remote world decorated and forged by the reports delivered by the circle of beneficiaries who surround them. By the time the revolution erupted and struck the country –may be a few years before that- Mubarak has detached himself from the reality which was bound to produce explosion at any moment.

Karim Abdul-Salam believes that it would be misleading to imagine that Egypt's revolution is only a youth's revolution since it encompassed all sectors of the society, all social classes and all categories, Muslims and Christians, men and women, old and young. (Alketaba Alokhra,71). The 2000 strikes - more or less- that took place between 2005-2010, the public rage that reached its peak in the past ten years and that has been clearly revealed in the numerous, enormous gatherings in front of the People's Assembly, and the different syndicates in Cairo, Alexandria and many governorates all over Egypt, have paved the way for the great eruption which came as a knock out to the Egyptian regime and forced the dictator to step down. The large masses of people who reached unmatched numbers in

THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF TAHRIR SQUARE: THE CREATIVITY OF THE OPPRESSED

Dr. Fatma Taher (*)

Introduction:

Revolutions all through the history of humanity have obviously taken place due to many governing forces; internal/local, and external/international. The January 25, 2011 Revolution, described by Samia Mehrez as "a multilayered ... open text" (2012, 1) was initiated by a number of Facebook youth, and is definitely the first revolution in the history of humanity to start at virtual reality and spread and flourish on real grounds. Globalization and communication revolution over the past few decades reduced the gap between the national and the international and facilitated the massive change. In this respect Alsayed Yassin records the frustration and oppression of the Arab youth that made them transfer their opposition to virtual reality rather than real grounds, where they could freely express their views and criticize the autocratic systems in their countries in his two books: *Cognitive Map of The Global Community* (2005) *and Network of Cognitive Civilization: From Reality to Virtual Reality* (2008).

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